

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 TEL AV 03622 01 OF 02 161815Z  
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W  
-----010066 161818Z /43  
O 161745Z MAR 78 ZFF4  
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 1977  
AMEMBASSY BEIRUTY NIACT IMMEDIATE  
WHITE HOUSE NIACT IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE  
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE  
/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 5427

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 TEL AVIV 3622

EXDIS DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PEPR, MOPS, IS, LE, XF  
SUBJECT: MEETING WITH BEGIN ON IDF WITHDRAWAL FROM SOUTHERN LEBANON

REF: JERUSALEM 764

1. AT MEETING WITH BEGIN MARCH 16, HIGHLIGHTS OF WHICH WERE CONVEYED REFTEL, WEIZMAN, DAYAN AND AVNER ALSO ATTENDED; I WAS ACCOMPANIED BY KIRBY. BEGIN AND WEIZMAN SHOWED THE TREMENDOUS STRAIN WHICH BOTH HAVE BEEN UNDER FOR NEARLY A WEEK. DAYAN WAS IN ONE OF HIS SULKY MODDS, AND LOOKED PASTY AND GRIM. HE CONTRIBUTED NOTHING TO THE DISCUSSION EVEN WHEN PRESSED TO DO SO BY BEGIN. THERE WAS A STEADY AND DELIBERATE TONE TO THE MEETING, WITH THE PREVAILING MOOD VERY SERIOUS BUO NOT CRISIS-RIDDEN. AT THE END OF THE MEETING I LEFT A VERBATIM COPY OF THE INSTRUCTIONS CONTAINED IN STATE 67617. THE FOLLOWING ARE THE MORE IMPORTANT

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 TEL AV 03622 01 OF 02 161815Z

ELEMENTS OF THE MEETING NOT REPORTED IN REFTEL.

2. BEGIN'S CONCERN OVER REVERSION TO PREVIOUS SITUATION. AFTER I WENT THROUGH MY INSTRUCTIONS, BEGIN'S INITIAL REACTION WAS TO ADMIT THAT WE WERE FACING A VERY SERIOUS PROBLEM AND TO SUGGEST THAT "WE REASON TOGETHER". HE POINTED OUT THAT ISRAEL HAD ALREADY EXPRESSED ITS WILLING-

NESS TO WITHDRAW EVEN BEFORE ANYONE HAD SUGGESTED IT. HE THEN ADDED WHAT WAS TO BE A RECURRENT THEME THROUGH THE MEETING, I.E., "WE WANT AN ARRANGEMENT BY WHICH THE KILLERS CANNOT RETURN."

3. BEGIN INTONED AT LENGTH HIS CONVICTION THAT IT WOULD BE INTOLERABLE FOR ISRAEL TO ALLOW THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN LEBANON TO REVERT TO THE STATUS QUO ANTE. HE SAID THAT ISRAEL HAS PAID A HIGH PRICE FOR ALLOWING THE PALESTINIANS TO REMAIN IN SOUTHERN LEBANON FOR AS LONG AS THEY HAVE, AND WONDERED WHY ISRAEL SHOULD ACCEPT A RETURN TO THAT SITUATION. HE REITERATED SEVERAL TIMES THAT FOR ISRAEL TO WITHDRAW PRIOR TO SOME PREVENTIVE ARRANGEMENT BEING MADE WOULD BE "A TERRIBLE BLOW TO THE FUTURE." FATAH WOULD CALL SUCH A DEVELOPMENT A TRIUMPH CLAIMING THAT THE IDF HAD COME AND LEFT AND THAT THE TERRITORY HAD REVERTED TO PALESTINIAN CONTROL. EH EXPRESSED THE GRATUITOUS VIEW THAT THE US WOULD NOT TOLERATE A SIMILAR SITUATION ON ITS BORDER AND ASSERTED THAT MOST COUNTRIES WOULD DO PRECISELY WHAT ISRAEL HAD DONE TUESDAY NIGHT.

4. BEGIN WENT ON TO DESCRIBE "A CERTAIN COUNTRY," WHERE MEN ARE TRAINED AND OPERATIONS ARE PLANNED --ALL VERY QUIETLY--WITHIN THE PROTECTION PROVIDED BY LEBANON. HE SAID THAT ISRAEL HAD TRIED TO RECTIFY THE SITUATION LAST FALL, BUT HAD BEEN FORCED BY THE  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 TEL AV 03622 01 OF 02 161815Z

US TO WITHDRAW. THE RESULT WAS THE MASSA RE SATURDAY NIGHT WHICH "STILL LIVES IN OUR HEARTS." HE REITERATED THAT HE DID NOT ORDER ISRAEL SOLDIERS TO ENTER LEBANON IN ORDER TO STAY THERE, BUT RATHER TO REMAIN UNTIL ARRANGEMENTS ARE MADE TO PREVENT THE RETURN OF THE TERRORISTS. HE ENDED BY ASKING IF ISRAEL WOULD REALLY BE WELL ADVISED TO TO OTHERWISE.

5. WEIZMAN ON SECURITY AND UN FORCE. WEIZMAN URGED THAT WE SHOULD ALL BE CAREFUL NOT TO FOCUS SOLELY ON SOUTHERN LEBANON. HE COULD ENVISION A SITUATION WHERE A UN FORCE WOULD BE NEAR THE BORDER, THERE WOULD BE ANOTHER INCIDENT SIMILAR TO THAT OF SATURDAY NIGHT, AND ISRAEL WOULD THEN FIND ITSELF WITH A UN FORCE BETWEEN IT AND THE "THOUSANDS OF PALESTINIANS IN BEIRUT" RESPONSIBLE FOR THE RAID. I REPLIED THAT IT SHOULD BE CLEAR FROM THE INSTRUCTIONS I HAD JUST READ AND FROM DINITZ' CONVERSATIONS IN WASHINGTON THAT WE

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 TEL AV 03622 02 OF 02 161823Z  
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W  
-----010210 161825Z /41

O 161745Z MAR 78 ZFF4  
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 1978  
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT NIACT IMMEDIATE  
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE  
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 TEL AVIV 3622

EXDIS -- DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS

CLEARLY UNDERSTAND ISRAEL'S SECURITY PROBLEM IN RELATION TO SOUTHERN LEBANON AND THE NEED TO FIND A PERMANENT SOLUTION TO IT. THAT SAID, I DONTINUED, THE U.S. CALCULATION IS THAT NO TYPE OF EFFECTIVE ASSURANCES CAN BE NEGOTIATED SO LONG AS ISRAELI FORCES REMAIN ON LEBANESE TERRITORY. EMPHASIZING THAT I WAS GOING BEYOND MY INSTRUCTIONS AND WAS SPEAKING PERSONALLY, I ADDED THAT I ASSUMED THAT THE THREE OF THEM HAD CONSIDERED THE OPTION OF WITHDRAWING AND AT THE SAME TIME MAKING A DECLARATION TO THE EFFECT THAT ANY PALESTINIAN WHO ATTEMPTS TO ENTER SOUTHERN LEBANON WILL BE DEALT WITH. IN ANY CASE, I SAID, NONE OF US WANTS TO SEE THE RETURN OF THOUSANDS OF ARMED TERRORISTS TO SOUTHERN LEBANON, AND THE U.S. IS COMMITTED TO SEEKING ARRANGEMENTS TO ENSURE STABILITY AND SECURITY IN THE REGION FOLLOWING ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL.

6. BEGIN ON UN TACTICS. AS MENTIONED REFTTEL, BEGIN WAS CONCERNED ABOUT WHAT MIGHT TRANSPIRE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. HE OBSERVED THAT THE CONCEPT OF A UN PEACE KEEPING FORCE  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 TEL AV 03622 02 OF 02 161823Z

WOULD PROBABLY NOT COME FROM ANY COUNTRY EXCEPT THE U.S. HE POINTED OUT THERE ARE MANY PRECEDENTS FOR COUNTRIES TABLING THEIR OWN RESOLUTION AND REJECTING ALL OTHER RESOLUTIONS. HE SAID THAT IF, AS MY INSTRUCTIONS HAD SUGGESTED,

WE REFUSED TO VETO A RESOLUTION DEMANDING ISRAEL'S WITHDRAWAL FROM LEBANON WITHOUT SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS, THE U.S. MIGHT FIND ITSELF INVOLVED IN SOMETHING THAT IT DISLIKES AS MUCH AS ISRAEL. I REASSURED BEGIN THAT THE U.S. WILL NOT STAND BY AND SEE ISRAEL CONDEMNED UNILATERALLY. BUT I STRESSED THAT THE QUESTION OF WITHDRAWAL IS RELATED, AMONG OTHER THINGS, TO OUR LONG TRADITION OF SUPPORT FOR THE SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF LEBANON. BEGIN INTERRUPTED AT THIS POINT SAYING THAT ISRAEL IS IN LEBANON ONLY BECAUSE IT WAS RESPONDING TO AGGRESSION. I ASSURED HIM THAT I UNDERSTOOD THE POINT HE WAS MAKING, BUT THE POINT AT ISSUE IS WHETHER THE IDF STAYS ON IN LEBANON. WE CANNOT SUPPORT SUCH A POSITION, NO MATTER THE REASON WHICH BROUGHT THE IDF TO LEBANON IN THE FIRST PLACE.

7. TOWARD THE END OF OUR CONVERSATION I REITERATED OUT VERY REAL CONCERN ABOUT THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE BROADER MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS SHOULD ISRAELI FORCES REMAIN ON LEBANESE TERRITORY FOR A PROLONGED PERIOD. I POINTED OUT THAT WE HAVE HAD CONSULTATIONS WITH SADAT AND KAMEL OVER THE PAST TWO DAYS AND THAT IT IS CLEAR THAT CONTINUED ISRAELI OCCUPATION OF LEBANESE TERRITORY WILL MAKE IT INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE FOR EGYPT TO PROCEED WITH NEGOTIATIONS. BEGIN RESPONDED BY STATING THAT SADAT HAD SAID AFTER LARNACA THAT HE WOULD PURSUE PALESTINIAN TERRORISTS "TO THE END OF THE WORLD"; ISRAEL, BEGIN OBSERVED, DIDN'T HAVE TO GO THAT FAR.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 TEL AV 03622 02 OF 02 161823Z

8. COMMENT: I WAS STRUCK BY THE EQUANIMITY WITH WHICH BEGIN AND HIS COLLEAGUES RECEIVED THAT PORTION OF MY PRESENTATION CONCERNING THE UN PEACE KEEPING FORCE. WE SHOULD NOT BE MISLED, HOWEVER, INTO THINKING THAT THIS IS A CONCEPT WE WILL BE ABLE TO SELL TO THE ISRAELIS WITHOUT A GREAT DEAL OF DIFFICULTY. I WOULD ESTIMATE THAT A UN PEACE KEEPING FORCE HOLDS VERY LITTLE ATTRACTION TO BEGIN AND HIS COLLEAGUES AT THIS POINT.

9. A FINAL POINT. ALTHOUGH IN MAKING MY PRESENTATION I REMINDED BEGIN OF THE CONGRESSIONAL PROBLEM WE HAD LAST FALL OVER USE OF U.S. ARMS IN SOUTH LEBANON, NEITHER HE NOR WEIZMAN MADE ANY REFERENCE TO THIS POTENTIAL DIFFICULTY IN OUR SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION.  
VIETS

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** TROOP DEPLOYMENT, INTERVENTION, PALESTINIANS, PEACE, COMBAT OPERATIONS, NEGOTIATIONS, CAT-B  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 16 mar 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1978TELAV03622  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** P840157-1920, N780003-0510  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** TEL AVIV  
**Handling Restrictions:**  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1978/newtext/t19780358/aaaabwsx.tel  
**Line Count:** 220  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** c5cda1c5-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION NODS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Reference:** 78 JERUSALEM 764  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 06 jun 2005  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 3299240  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** <DBA CHANGED> MCM 20040618  
**Subject:** MEETING WITH BEGIN ON IDF WITHDRAWAL FROM SOUTHERN LEBANON  
**TAGS:** PEPR, MOPS, PBOR, IS, LE, XF, (BEGIN, MENACHEM)  
**To:** STATE SS MULTIPLE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/c5cda1c5-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014